

## RICHMOND COMRADES

Mount the Breech and Hold High the Flag.

Plain Language Uttered by a Committee of the Section in the Common Council. An Issue on Municipalization Leads to Broader Discussion—The Tramp and Class Legislation—The Capitalist Body Rules our Comrade "Out of Order," and the Discussion is Continued in the Public Press.

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 24—I have been requested by our Richmond Comrades to acquaint the Comrades in the land of a little fight Section Richmond had with the members of the Common Council of the above city and the raising of broader issues that that gave rise to.

The causes which led up to it were as follows: For some time past there have been some speculators around here examining into and feeling the pulse of some of our manufacturing concerns to find out how they stood in regards to the erecting of an electric plant for the generation of electric light and motor power. Their investigation having proved satisfactory, they forthwith applied for a charter to erect the same, purposing to use the waste water of the river James as power. We, having observed in the papers the discussion thereon in the committee of the Council on Streets, etc., and also that they reported favorably, determined to memorialize the Common Council in both branches and ask them to refuse to grant said charter, but rather have the city erect a plant, if necessary, and operate it itself for the benefit of the citizens.

Accordingly we appointed a committee, of which Comrade A. B. McCulloch was chairman, to draw up suitable resolutions, and forthwith proceeded to bairn the lion in his den, first in the Council and again at the meeting of the Board of Aldermen. On both occasions Comrade McCulloch took advantage of the opportunity afforded him to get in some good hits for Socialism—not, of course, in the Glasgow plan. He was beaten to very attentively by the gentlemen present, but the four Commissioners, when he in closing attacked a resolution offered by the "Young Men's Business Association" asking the Council to pass an ordinance to the effect that all tramps found in or around the city should be tried for vagrancy and condemned to work for stated periods in the bed of a loathsome strip of some stagnant water called Shooee Creek.

Comrade McCulloch said he hoped the gentlemen of the Board would pigeon-hole, for all time and eternity, that infernal piece of vicious capitalist class legislation known as the tramp ordinance, the outcome of diseased faculties and adamant hearts. He was about to be ruled "out of order" by the chairman, when Alderman Allen one of the wealthiest parasites in the body, and who always signs his name "J. E. Allen, capitalist" asked our Comrade in a sneering tone, how he deemed the proposed ordinance class legislation? Comrade McCulloch stung by the sneering tone of the sleek Alderman turned and discharged a volley the like of which had not been heard for a long time, if ever, at any of their meetings. He told him it was capitalist class legislation from the fact that only one class would be affected and suffer by it, and that class were the poor whom machinery had thrown mercilessly out on the streets, and who, trudging from city to city in quest of work, and failing in which, were forced to either beg, starve or steal. The above assertion called forth a host of questions which our Comrade answered readily. With convincing and convicting logic he was sooning them around in all directions, when the chairman called him down and he left the arena with much more right in him than when he went in there.

The "Dispatch" newspaper next day quoted Comrade McCulloch and, seeking to correct these errors, he tried to work in the enclosed clipping. But they fought shy, and he was forced to take it to the "Times." After fighting the editor and proprietor for hours he finally succeeded in getting it inserted in that rankest of gold bug Democratic papers in the State. Here is what he said:

"My views on the proposed tramp ordinance having been misconstrued, I desire to further explain my position on this important measure. I would state that I am far from being in favor of men of any class being maintained in idleness, excepting, of course, the aged and the infirm. That is why I am a Socialist. Under a Socialistic system of society, every man would have an opportunity of employment and get the full value of that which he produced, and if he produced nothing he would get nothing. Under the competitive system of to-day we have two classes of idle men, viz., first, the tramps, who are denied an opportunity to work and who are often compelled to beg for bread; and, secondly, the millionaire class, who have abundant opportunity of performing useful work, but will not, and who live off the fruits of other people's labor. Of the two I think the latter element is the one at whom a rigorous ordinance should be directed."

But notwithstanding the contention that the tramp ordinance is not class legislation, it must be perfectly clear to every thinking man that the proposed ordinance is intended to apply only to the class Abraham Lincoln styled the "common people." It is God's poor dis-

## The People.

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possessed proletarian upon whom the barbarous humiliation is sought to be visited of cleaning the bed of Shockoe Creek or breaking stone, while all the time guarded by armed men, and locked up in felons' cells at night, this the penalty for being poor and unable to procure employment! Were American citizens residing in Cuba or Armenia subjected to imprisonment in those countries for no greater crime, the very air we breathe would be sulphuric from the invectives pronounced against the "butcher Spaniard" and the "un-speakable Turk." But when the abominable outrage is perpetrated at our very doors, it is so different!

There has been a time when men who did not work could safely be adjudged vagabonds and treated as such, but that favored period has long passed into oblivion and has been succeeded by the era of labor-displacing machinery and trusts. The mighty industrial revolution which has taken place in the United States within the last quarter of the nineteenth century has resulted in the displacement from all opportunity of employment of millions of those very workingmen without whose brain and brawn our country could never have attained its present industrial and commercial prestige. The worker no longer owns, as he once did, the tools of production; the tools now own the worker.

As an example of what has occurred, the Mergenthaler type-setting machine may be fitly cited. This wonderful device has already displaced thirty percent of the printers of the United States, and the percentage is constantly swelling. What has become of these men thus thrown out of employment? They are tramping the country over, searching for an opportunity to work. Not a week passes but the writer comes across some member of this distressed army, who is hungry and homeless and ready to die of despair. And almost every trade is becoming affected in like manner.

Thus it has come to pass that the term "tramp," instead of meaning a man who will not work, is generally applied to those worthy unfortunates who are seeking earnestly for an opportunity to sustain themselves by honest toil. It is for these helpless victims of a cannibalistic social system that the Young Men's Business Association would provide imprisonment with hard labor, should they "beg or solicit alms, whether of money, food, lodging, or clothing." Shame upon such a proposition!

This tramp ordinance agitation is but one of the many evidences of the deadening effects of commercialism upon the hearts and souls of men. The noble attributes of character implanted in man by the Architect of his body are destroyed by the insatiable desire for gold and glory. What a horrible mockery this so-called civilization of to-day is! No wonder the Hottentots prefer their rude social usages to our cruel, dog-eat-dog system.

If the workingmen of the community fail to see in the tramp ordinance a movement to oppress and enslave their class, they are much blinder than I am willing to concede them to be. May an aroused public opinion defeat this scheme and all others projected with like intent.—Alex. B. McCulloch.

Some may think our fight did not amount to much, as the charter was granted. Well, we did not care a snap of our fingers for that, because we knew that there was nothing in it for the wage slave anyhow; but we gave the capitalist politicians and their allies, the "pure and simple," a black eye by proving to our fellow workers that if we are "small potatoes" as to numbers, we are greater than the whole caboodle of Simple Simon in our ability to see the cat, and having seen it, boldly stand in open day and let the world know it.

Fraternally,

H. D. MACTIER,  
Organizer Section Richmond.

The Municipal Vote in Boston.

The S. L. P. comes out of its first municipal contest in Boston with flying colors.

David Goldstein, for Mayor, received 827 votes.

Martha Moore Avery, for School Commissioner, 6,680 votes.

The seven candidates for Aldermen polled a vote that ranged from 1,400 up to 2,105, the vote polled by Nugent.

The complaint of Judge Paterson, of the New York Supreme Court, that the Bar is becoming demoralized, has in it all the naivete of the loving ignoramus weeping at the bier of a departed friend whose demise he ascribes to "lack of breath."

No doubt, the Bar, the Bench, too, is becoming, nay, is demoralized. How else could it be if lawyers' pleas and judges' judgments are not the emanations of science and justice but the echoes of the will of the capitalist class who own their Bar and Bench as it owns its breeches. How else can it be if the lawyers' and the judges' living depend upon obsequiousness to so infamous a class as the capitalist class?

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## TAKE THIS IN.

The Singerly Failure Put on the Dissecting Table.

The Collapse Last Week in Philadelphia of a Giant "Captain of Industry" Brings to Light Facts that Sweep Away the Capitalist Myth About the Capitalist Doing the "Managing," "Directing" and "Thinking" in Production, and Hence Being a Co-operative in Wealth-Production.

Down the stream of Social Evolution floats the corpse of the Singerly Bank of Philadelphia. Let us place it on the dissecting table, and, while its depositors vainly weep over their deposits, let the Socialist scalpel be applied to the carcass. Nothing, frequently, so well becomes these capitalist concerns as their death. Much profit can be derived from them at such times, seeing that their death makes public much that their lives kept secret.

It is a string on which the acolytes of the capitalist class incessantly harp—that labor is NOT the sole producer of wealth; the capitalist, say they, fulfills a function that is necessary to wealth production. He directs, he manages, he thinks—without his direction, management, thinking wealth is unpredictable.

Capitalist professors, capitalist professors, capitalist Parsons, that is to say, professors, politicians and Parsons with a string to their legs the other end of which is held by capitalists, have descended in all manner of keys on these necessary functions of the capitalist in the production of wealth, and have drawn from their theory the conclusion that what the capitalist gets is his share of his efforts in the production of wealth. That is the nursery tale which the Singerly Bank corpse is the latest to explode when closely analyzed.

The failure of the Singerly Bank brings out the fact that it was but one of the concerns "managed" by "Captain of Industry" Col. William Singerly. Besides "directing," "managing" and doing the "thinking" of the bank he had his "managing," "directing" and "thinking" finger in the following piles, of course, drew thereto his share of his "labor":

1.—The Chestnut Street Trust Savings Fund Company (Philadelphia);

2.—The Philadelphia "Record";

3.—The Brighton Worsted Mills;

4.—The Norristown Farm Machinery Manufacturing Company;

5.—The Lennon Store (Philadelphia);

6.—The Photo-Engraving Company (Philadelphia);

7.—The Rembrandt Engraving Company (Baltimore);

8.—The Rembrandt Engraving Company (Philadelphia);

9.—The Litt Brothers' Store (Philadelphia);

10.—The Temple Theater (Philadelphia), burned down; and

11.—Stock farms in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas and Colorado.

A more complete exposure of the absurdity and stupidity of the claim and of the dishonesty of those who maintain it, that what the capitalist pockets is not stolen goods, as Socialists claim, but the "share of his own labor" in production can not be had than by considering the claim in the light of this long list of diversified industries, located in a large number of distant places.

The human being does not exist, cannot exist, that can "manage," "direct" and do the "thinking" for simultaneously a bank in Philadelphia and a stock-farm in Colorado; of a machinery manufacturing plant in Norristown and a photo-engraving establishment in Baltimore; of a newspaper and a trust savings fund concern; of another stock-farm in Ohio and a Lennon store in Philadelphia. Not if the day had 300 hours, instead of 24; not if the physical body could travel with the swiftness of X-rays, and disregard physical impediments; not if the human frame were of steel and cast iron; not if the human skull contained the brain power of a hundred powerful heads—not even then could one man "manage," "direct" or "do the thinking" for such a number of different concerns, any one of which be speaks the full time and thoughts of many average individuals.

No. Col. Singerly did not "direct," "manage" or "think" for all or any one of these concerns. And yet they were running, and only one or two failed. If he did not do the "managing," "directing," "thinking," who did? Someone must have done that. Enterprises do not run of themselves. The managing, thinking, directing, together with all the work done and needed to be done in all these establishments was done from top to bottom by hired men, by labor, by wage slaves. "Captain of Industry" Singerly, like all other "captains of industry," did and do no manner of work. Whence, then, the "share" they get? From the sweat of the brow of labor, of their employees, of the wage-slaves;—it is stolen property.

The "managing," "thinking," "directing" done by the capitalist class to-day in the production of wealth is a myth. The whole "managing," "thinking," "directing" they do is such "managing," "thinking," "directing" as may be necessary to keep agoing the pack of professors, Parsons and politicians whom they need to keep alive their swindling myth and thereby keep themselves in idle luxury.

The wealth of the world is the product of labor. The capitalist class does no manner of work that conduces to wealth-production. Whatever effort this class exerts may not be dignified with the word "labor," any more than the pickpocket's efforts, or the slaver's efforts, trying though these efforts may be. Such efforts do not AID PRODUCTION; they only AID THE SWINDLER; of whom it belongs into the pockets of the "managers," "directors" and "thinkers" of swindling schemes.

## A SHOE-WORKER'S

Speech to His Fellow Craftsmen and Wage Slaves.

On the 10th of this Month, Jeremiah Reardon of Lynn Addressed his Fellow Shoeworkers in the Rotunda of the Lynn City Hall on the Causes of the Declining Wage and of the Pauperization of the Working Class. The Effects of Machinery Owned by Private Individuals.

Fellow Workers and Citizens—Let me explain to you who have not studied Socialism, why you should join the Socialist Labor Party.

To introduce my subject, let me show you how human labor is displaced, and daily made more and more valueless through the introduction of machinery. I will try and give you an idea, as briefly as possible, how this displacement occurs and its attendant results.

I will first call your attention to a machine upon which I have been an operator for years. This machine is but one of the many thousands that are gradually forcing a daily increased percentage of workingmen to become tramps and beggars. I speak of this machine in particular, because I know more about this one than I do of the others. Twenty years ago a man could sew 25 pairs of turn shoes by hand; now, with the machine, he can sew 300, or, in other words, one man can do the work to-day that it took 12 men to do less than 20 years ago. In this city of Lynn alone, on turns and welts, there are over 100 of these machines in use. The labor displacement on the welts can be figured about the same as on the turns, and if one machine displaces 11 men 100 machines would displace 1,100 men. But remember, I have only spoken of the effects of this in one city.

Go to St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago, Rochester, New York, Brooklyn, Haverhill, and Newburyport, and hundreds of other smaller shoe-towns throughout the United States, and you will find the displacement of labor through the introduction of this machine alone is something enormous.

But this machine, as a labor-displacing machine, is not in it compared with thousands of other machines in use in the mills and factories of this country. Every day some new piece of labor-saving machinery is introduced or some improved parts added to the old machines, which lessens the demand for our labor and consequently cheapens it.

To further illustrate. Suppose it takes 10 men to-day to do a certain quantity of work; to-morrow a machine is introduced with which five men can do the same quantity; the five men who are forced out of their jobs become the competitors of those who are working; this is a case of two men for one job, the five who are working get their wages lowered.

Now, let us see what we have done. We have completely cut off the purchasing power of five men and are lessening the purchasing power of the other five as fast as new and improved machinery will warrant it. Every man we displace or deprive of the chance to earn a living through the introduction of machinery is one customer less for the hat store, the shoe store, the clothing store, etc. How can you expect business to be good, or even get any better, under a system which is daily adding fresh numbers to the army of idle workingmen? How can they buy our product when they have no money to buy it with or no chance to work that they might earn money? There is but one conclusion to be drawn from this—the more idle men you have, the more non-consumers you have, the greater becomes the difficulty of your employer to dispose of the product which he at times so generously permits you to work upon.

There is not a workingman here or anywhere else who is capable of doing any thinking for himself but will be compelled to admit that his chances for making a living are now and have been for years daily growing less and less. It is not because you are not as willing to work as you ever were. It is because you are able to produce so much in such a short space of time—one man to-day, with the aid of the machine, which he does not buy or ought to own, can produce as much as 10 men could a few years ago.

What are you going to do with the nine that are left? Feed them on charity? If you do, let me tell you that every ounce of charity they get from any of your institutions or so-called philanthropists costs a pound of your sweat and labor, and surely you are not foolish enough to think that we have reached the limit of mechanical perfection yet. To-morrow, or the day after, we will have a machine that will do the work of 20 men. What are you going to do with the 19 men you will then displace? I need not go into details on this question, because I do not believe there is a man present who is so stupid that he does not know that every day human hands and fingers are pushed aside and supplanted with iron ones.

Admitting without further argument that at least part what I said is true, how do the parties most of you belong to propose to deal with this problem? By making the Democratic workingman believe that free trade is the remedy, and the Republican workingman believe protection is the cure, and the workingman who does not believe in either of these remedies can try a dose of the over-production or under-consumption pill, or try a few of the other pills. Business will be good after the elec-

tion pills, or after the holidays, or after the tariff is settled, or after confidence is restored, or after the warehouses are empty; any of those pills, when administered by a good smooth political physician, have a soothing effect on the workingman with the scum on his optics. But those proposed remedies have an entirely different effect upon the Socialist. They put him in such a peculiar position that he is forced to wink the other eye, because he has learned from experience that the only cure is the abolition of the competitive wage system and the collective ownership of the implements of production; he knows that when his employer hires him to work, he does not hire him because he likes him; he does not hire him because he wants to do him a favor; he does not hire him because his wife and family are in needy circumstances. No; he hires him to make money out of his labor. Creed or nationality make no difference. The question is, Are you young, strong and speedy, and how cheap can you work? And as soon as you have produced enough to be equivalent to a dollar you get 25 cents, the balance, or 75 cents, you pay for the privilege of being permitted to work, perhaps feeding or running some machine which is constructed from material that was on the earth thousands of years before any of us came to the world, material that was dug from the earth, fashioned and shaped into machines by human hands, not the hands of millionaires, but the hands of workingmen like yourselves. Workingmen dig the material from the earth, work it through the various stages of manufacture, and finally build a machine out of it. Do they keep it and use it to lessen the toil of themselves and their fellow workers? No; they give it to the capitalist, and he uses it for his own individual interest; uses it for lessening the value of all you have got to live upon—your labor; and you have been doing this so long that you have put him in complete possession of the tools of production, and when you want to produce some of the things you need for consumption upon the machines that you and your class have constructed, you then learn that the tools and implements of production, the creations of millions of minds and hands of workingmen that are dead and passed away, as well as those that are living, are bolted to the floors of the mills and factories of the world, and we dare not touch them until we are permitted by those who control them.

Fellow workingmen, can you not realize the helplessness of your position? You surely must know that every day you opportunity to earn a living for yourselves and families grows less and less. There are men standing here to-night, men of families who a few years ago found it easy enough to earn 20 or 25 dollars a week; to-day they would be glad to earn half of it; and it is a fairly safe assertion to make that they don't average one-quarter of it!

I hope there is no man here foolish enough to believe that his wages can be increased or his condition made better under the present competitive or wage slavery system. Don't fool yourselves into believing or let anybody else fool you into believing that your condition as a wage worker can be improved under this system. If you do any thinking, search yourselves. See if you can find any justifiable reason for believing that your condition can be made better under this system; if you find any you will surprise me some and yourself some more.

I would ask those men who have families growing up what trade or calling will they put their sons or daughters to? There is not a father here present to-night but has been troubled with this thought many a time, and that father who is conscious of the fact that every day makes it a day harder to earn a living, with insanity, crime and prostitution on the increase, the father who will go to the polls and vote for the continuation of a system

## THE PEOPLE.

Established at 184 William Street, New York,  
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York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1891.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,088
In 1890.....	12,831
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	32,183
In 1896 (Presidential).....	26,564
In 1897.....	54,159

My call is the call of battle, I nourish active rebellion,  
He going with me must go well arm'd.  
He going with me goes often with spare diet, poverty, angry enemies, desertion.

Walt Whitman.

## THE NEW YEAR.

In the midst of the gloom in which the year 1897 closed, and the new year opened, the Socialist alone can feel cheerful, he alone can shake his fellow's hands with joy, he alone can wish him a Happy New Year.

To the usurping class and to the oppressed who know not the mechanism of the system that grinds them down, the future is a closed book. The former may in its affluence drown its apprehensions of the future, but when it wishes a Happy New Year its wish implies impotence. No less impotent is the wish for a Happy New Year that emanates from the breast of the proletariat that still gropes in the darkness of class-unconsciousness. Its wished partake of the nature of a prayer to a power whom it can not control and to whose wish it must submit as to fate.

Not so with the Socialist, with the class-conscious proletariat. To these the future is an open book. Their sufferings are not crushing because they know the way out, they see the way out, and they are marching on that path. To these every day brings society one day nearer to its liberation, every year opens an era for renewed and hopeful activity. The Socialist, consequently, is the only one who can and does wish a Happy New Year to his fellow strivers.

The year that just rolled away was one of severe but successful struggle. The record of our growth during this year heads this column: The year just entered into opens under the most favorable auguries. With a hearty Happy New Year the Socialist buckles down to work that shall render 1898 a happy one indeed by so far as it will record still longer strides towards the breaking down of Capitalism and the rearing of the Socialist Commonwealth.

## ALL EYES ON RHODE ISLAND!

The growth of the Socialist Labor party in Rhode Island seems to be bearing immediate fruit. An attempt is on foot with the rubber class that controls the State to rid itself of the doom that is in store for it, and that it feels is approaching, by disfranchising the working class.

Inadequate though the means are to the ultimate end in view, it becomes the class-conscious proletariat of the land to join their means to those of our Comrades in the threatened State to resist and prevent the plot from being carried out.

As will be seen from the report of the National Executive Committee, active measures are to be immediately put on foot by the Socialist Labor party in this serious emergency. Take the ballot away from the proletarian and violent revolution is invited. The S. L. P. in its humane propaganda must see to it that no effort be lost to make the solution of the Social Question a peaceful one, and to exhaust all means to that end. In order that the blood that might flow in case Russian conditions are instituted here, may rest wholly on the heads of the already murderous class against which civilization is now struggling.

## "ROSY CHEEKED" SWEATERS.

The following advertisement from a large retail store, that appears in one of the New York dailies under flaming headlines and in double columns, tells a significant tale. Here it is:

"Thousands of women who await this sale with intense expectancy have had their brightest anticipations realized. This display is by far the most charming collection we have ever succeeded in gathering. Table after table heaped full of the daintiest exquisites, nothing but the prettiest and choicest. The qualities are sumptuous. Not odds and ends, but the pink of perfection—dreams of loveliness."

"Women wise in such things will thank the good fortune that has brought them such elegancies so low, and all the garments are fresh and pure and clean. FREE FROM THE CON-

TACION OF TENEMENTS AND

## SWEAT SHOPS: MADE AMONG THE HEALTHFUL HILLS OF NEW ENGLAND BY THE NIMBLE FINGERS OF ROSY-CHEEKED MAIDENS."

People who are so shaped that they try to remove evil by plasters instead of by their eradication have long been working for the abolition of the sweat shop in every manner conceivable except the right one. The sweat shop is one of the logical results of capitalism. Like certain diseases, it fails first upon the weak. The victims of the sweat shops were originally found only in the congested districts of congested cities. The special features of the sweat shop are two: first, the contract system, whereby a capitalist gets some one to contract to deliver certain amounts of goods at a given price; and second, the grinding down of the operatives by the contractors, who, in order to make as much as possible out of their contracts squeeze their operatives. The inhumanity of this process became so apparent that it evoked an outcry against it. Then "philanthropy" stepped forward and gushed: politicians availed themselves of the sentiment and ranting labor fakirs and shyster lawyers exploited the sentiment; and so it went on for a long while. The evil, crooked at the top, continued to flourish, drawing its life from the roots that it was allowed to preserve. The city sweat shop went unabated.

Presently, the conditions that breed the sweat-shop victim began to manifest themselves elsewhere, in the rural districts and small villages. What with the decline of the farmer, whereby his children were forced into the factory, and the subsequent development of machinery whereby these young folks were thrown out of work, the New England country towns began to produce a material that at all points was equal to the best fodder of the city sweatshops. Then a light dawned up in the "charitable" brain of the capitalist. The city sweat shop is too much "in evidence": the light of day beats too glaringly upon it; moreover, the public began to be affected by the reports of the infectious diseases bred in the sweat shop and spread by the garments made there. The rise in country towns of the human material that could be sweated the same as its kindred in the city caused a change of flank. The result is now seen in the advertisement above quoted.

The New England country towns are now gradually becoming enlarged sweat shops: New England young folks, pinched by want, as any one can ascertain by a walk through such towns, but being hidden away from the cities, can be referred to as "rosy-cheeked maidens"; and the fiction of their health and contentment can be made a subject for advertisements to recommend the goods by; and the sweating system can receive and does receive new increment.

In the meantime, the thoughtful will wonder and ask how long can rosy cheeks, assuming they are still rosy, preserve their blush at sweat-shop rates of wages; and the still more thoughtful will realize that the only way to abolish the sweating system is to abolish its dame—CAPITALISM.

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION IN AMERICA.

The exhibition that the "K. of L." and the Kurzenkneb brewers are giving of themselves just now suggests a book under the title "The Development of the Pure and Simple Union in America." Such a work will surely be some time undertaken. To aid the future historian of this subject we shall off and on record some of the facts that may prove most aidful to him.

The Kurzenkneb brewers are pronouncing the "K. of L." brewers "scabs"; the "K. of L." brewers are pronouncing the Kurzenkneb brewers "scabs". From the headquarters of each flamboyant addresses are being issued to the public, each side claiming that the other is no good, etc., etc.

Whence may all this music come? Is either or are both of these heads animated by zeal for the working class? Are their mutual charges of scaberry founded, or does one of them lie? Nothing of the sort.

Neither the Jack Hayes-Hicks "K. of L." headquarters nor the Kurzenkneb ditto is animated by any love for the working class or by any sense of wrong done to the working class by either. Their attitude is none other than that of hired drummers or "pullers-in" of competing firms, each of whom wants the market for itself, and, consequently, its "pullers-in" have to blackguard each other and run down each other's employes.

Some capitalist brewers have found it a profitable way of advertising to say that they are "union concerns". For this purpose they ORDER their men into the union. So soon as that is done the journal of such a "union" becomes an advertising hand-bill for the shrewd brewer. He is spoken of as a "union" concern: his business is advertised under flaming head lines; and the officers of the "union" are made to see to it that the stuff of the "union" boss is pushed. All this is money in the boss' pocket, in so far as it is cheap advertisement; that his employes pay for it with their union dues; and that it entails upon him no hardships, on the contrary, he finds that, just as soon as the men are "organized" by his order, instead of having to deal with each separately, all he has to do is to deal

with the precious "union" officer who will keep the men quiet—provided they are sufficiently employed to pay dues on which the officer can live in drunkenness or in idleness.

But "competition is the life of trade". The brewer bosses are not a happy family. They are competitors. If one gets a "union" to act as his "puller-in", with the other advantages above mentioned, another set of brewers follows suit; they won't be outdone in "cleverness". The result is that this other set gets up a "union" of its own whose officers do for it the work that the officers of the previous "union" do for the other bosses. The ultimate result is inevitable. The two sets of "pullers-in" clash, and the air becomes sulphuric with good round English and German oaths.

This is the secret of the row now going on between the Jack Hayes-Hicks and the Kurzenkneb headquarters.

## THE PEOPLE, SUNDAY, JANUARY 2, 1898.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## Cambridge Ditto.

To THE PEOPLE—Your article on "Reform," in issue of December 26, brings to mind an act of the aristocratic city of Cambridge, Mass., about a year ago. The city government voted to increase the pay of all persons in the employ of the city who were receiving \$1,000 per year or over, which was done.

JOHN BUCKLEY.

Burlington, Vt., Dec. 28.

## Picturesque.

To THE PEOPLE.—There are some real mad men amongst the labor leaders (?) in this city. And there is no one to blame for it but the wicked Socialists, who are trying to organize the workers into the S. T. & L. A. Indeed, in the near future the readers of THE PEOPLE will hear more concerning the Alliance in St. Louis.

A daily German paper of this city, which is trying to pose as a labor paper, has been publishing some glaring accounts about the growth of the "Social Democracy," but, unfortunately for it, it also gives the names of what it calls "prominent men" connected with the "Social Democracy."

Perhaps it would interest the readers of THE PEOPLE to hear more about these "prominent" gentlemen. First comes that trio which believes that the present Brewers' Union is more of a snap for them than the S. T. & L. A. would be—Messrs. Kurtzenkneb, Bechtold and Franz. Then a gentleman by the name of Filbrun, late business manager of the defunct St. Louis "Tageblatt," alias Brewers' Organ No. 2, a paper that was repudiated by the German proletariat of St. Louis shortly before it gave up the ghost. Then there is amongst these gentlemen one who defrauded Section St. Louis out of \$2,500, and one who beat the Section out of \$4 for tickets that he sold, and several others of equal "prominence." All of the above named gentlemen are ex-members of the St. Louis Section.

For further information concerning these worthies apply to headquarters of Section St. Louis, E. L. P., 410½ Market street. We have their records on file. Amongst those "prominent men" we should not forget a Mr. Hofer and a Mr. Banister, who have worked against the S. L. P. at every opportunity offered, and last, but not least, Mr. Cebelin, who said that the Debs movement was a fake. (Perhaps that is why he joined it), and many others who could be placed in the same category.

Mr. Debs spoke here on Dec. 5th and 6th, but he did not have the overflow meetings that we read so much about in his organ, the "Social Democrat."

H. J. POELLING.

St. Louis, Dec. 26.

## Experience on the Pacific Tallying with Experience on the Atlantic.

I have just read in the last issue of THE PEOPLE the interesting account by our Comrades of Lynn of Debs' visit there. It is instructive as well as interesting reading, and I will try to describe somewhat similar experiences that have taken place out here.

About two years ago Morrison I. Swift attempted to start a "Society of American Socialists" in San Francisco, and tried very hard to impress us and the public in general with the fact that the foreign imported brand of Socialism was a spurious article not fit for the consumption of real Americans: that his American Socialism was the only Simon pure warranted article, thereby ignoring completely the great truth that Socialism is international. At that time a weekly journal called the "Altrurian" boomed the new movement, and, in an editorial headed "A Question of Policy," asserted that "more than half of the most understanding Socialists of the country are not in sympathy with the Socialist Labor Party," that they "were repelled by the doctrinarianism of the party," and were consequently obliged to work in an isolated way, and went on to say that Swift's new society "had a great field and a great opportunity. If it will make it plans great enough it can mark the beginning of a new sociological era."

As a rule, the "Citizen" has neither a consuming desire nor available space to exchange compliments with depraved boodle sheets that pose as labor organs, and for that reason we will reply to the "Eight-Hour Herald" of Chicago, and to all its kindest by the "Citizen":

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"1. The "Citizen" is accused of being a cheap socialistic political publication. Correct. Price, \$1 a year, in advance. That is much better than being a Republican-Democratic sheet that is given away in bundles because no one buys it.

"2. This paper is accused of maligning certain national officers. We have told the truth in every instance and we challenge any of them to deny it. National officers are not above criticism. Even a cat can look at a king."

"3. The "Citizen" never existed a single day on its merits, and has been a tax on the union men of Cleveland since the first number of the paper left the press." Every delegate in the C. L. U. knows that this paper has been on a paying basis for several years—ever since we began to expose fakirs and skates. Neither is it hopelessly in debt, nor does it operate a job plant to bleed unions, nor did it try to get boodle from Hanna or any other politician, nor did it ever conduct a blackmailing bureau in Chicago.

"In conclusion, we advise Hollister Bros., of Chicago, if they ever want their paper to become a paying investment, to hire an editor who can write an intelligent article on some labor subject, rather than continuing a butcher of the English language and an ex-Cleveland hooler in that capacity."

The following contains an unsavory present truth for the working class, and an unsavory future truth for the capitalist class found in the columns of the San Francisco, Cal., "New Charter".

"Vox populi, vox dei."—The voice of Balaam was Jehovah's. If two voices equal to each other, than "vox populi, vox dei" amounts to "vox asini, vox dei"; therefore the people's voice is an ass. Proof: They elected capitalists almost entirely at the last election. Some day perhaps their drivers will be dodging the asses' heels."

on a second fifty thousand. After the election is over it is their intention to print a similar number of stirring appeals to the intelligence of the wage worker and have them regularly and systematically distributed every month. By this means they will keep our local official organ, the "New Charter," prominently before the public, and do effective propaganda work at the same time. The good news of the advances made by our Eastern Comrades is very inspiring and gives us courage to keep up the fight all along the line.

The thoughtless frequently sneer at the slow growth of the S. L. P. When I first went to school one of the first of my reading lessons was the fable of the oak and the pig weed. They both sprouted at the same time, and while the oak was extending its roots in all directions and preparing for future growth, the vain pig weed was boasting of its rapid rise in the world, and looking down contemptuously on the baby oak. If our friends in the Social Democracy cannot see the moral the fault is not mine.

OLIVER EVERETT.  
San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 16.

## The Product of Pure and Simplicity.

To THE PEOPLE—I have had occasion to see with my own eyes the condition of the miners. No description can do justice to the case. The miners made upon me the impression of gallant slaves, fettered to their benches; they look as if they had given up all hope, so often have they found themselves cheated by the labor misleaders. The mass of them seem reconciled to their lot as something that is not to be changed. In many a case, after being paid, the men do not return to work until they have drunk up all their wages, and in that way have forgotten their misery for a short spell. How hardened and bestialized some of them have become by their wretchedness will appear from this instance:

One morning a miner was knocked down by the rolling down of stones in the mine upon him. His companion or "partner" pulls him from under the heap, finds that he is dead, and instead of striking an alarm and having the body removed, he shoves it aside, and quietly proceeds with his work. In the afternoon, as the superintendent went by the place and saw only one man at work, he inquired from him where his partner was. The answer was: "Him no good; him dead." Does not this speak volumes?

And yet, in the midst of this wholesale degradation, I have noticed that in many quarters the better part in man is powerfully asserting itself. In all quarters small groups are shaping themselves who have not lost all hope. The State Committee of the S. L. P. is literally overrun with questions upon how to organize Sections, from everywhere speakers are called for and literature. We are hardly able to supply the demand.

H. P.  
Allegheny, Pa., Dec. 23.

## Inviting Martinism.

To THE PEOPLE—Our Section sent an invitation to our Central Labor Union to join in an indignation meeting on the Hazleton butcheries. The C. L. U. refused the invitation on the ostensible reason that it came from a political party, the real reason, however, being that the C. L. U. is now essentially a "pure and simple" body, and as such is out of touch and touch with the rest of the proletariat. The incident is well worth noticing. In reply to such cowardice, that clearly invites "Sheriff-Martinism" upon the heads of the working class of Indianapolis, our Section issued the following open letter to the C. L. U.:

"To the public at large—We learn from the press of this city that your body sat still in the chairs, declining to attend a meeting to protest against the killing of innocent miners in Hazleton, Pa., upon invitation of the Socialist Labor Party, on the ground of the same being a political party, which is against your constitution.

"Now, it is fact that you had no meeting of your own, as a labor organization affiliated with the same national organization, the A. F. of L., as the miners themselves. It should have been your duty, and nothing short of that, to protest in a strong voice against the killing and wounding of your fellow unionists and brothers. But you slept; your sense of duty was asleep, unable to grasp the social and industrial condition that makes the killing of these miners an absolute example of the inability of the trade unions, in their present form, to help or even prevent the worker from gradually sinking lower and lower, and hence political action by the Socialists. We ask a few words with you upon this subject of political action. We trust that your ears will not be closed to such a timely subject.

"You are well aware that the history of the labor organization in the last ten years is a barometer of humiliation and defeat, morally as well as otherwise; and how could it be otherwise? You stand upon the ground that labor organizations "pure and simple," i. e., to

## ITALY.

(Continued.)

The time had not yet come, however, and was not to come for many years when an indestructible organization of Socialist forces could be founded on a broad layer of class-conscious proletariat, sufficiently enlightened to clearly perceive the fundamental causes of its sufferings, the exact object of its aspirations and the direct line to the achievement of its purpose. The state of profound ignorance and deep misery in which the Italian masses had been purposely kept for centuries, was naturally productive of a morass-like placidity which could only be disturbed at the surface by great political commotions. The Anarchists, with all the wind at their command, had hardly caused a ripple of excitement concerning the social question, even in the higher strata before Passanante's attempt on the life of the king (November 16, 1878) gave the government an opportunity, which it improved wonderfully, of confounding in the same ostracism the antipodal methods and aims of Anarchism and Socialism; for it soon found that the Anarchistic "propaganda of the deed" naturally defeated its own purpose by frightening away the timorous masses and was therefore dangerous only to the few individuals who at rare intervals might be the victims of it; whereas Socialism, with its open and legal process of agitation, education and organization, would surely win over the oppressed, the disinherited, the immense majority of the people, thus building up an irresistible power of numbers and intellect, before which would inevitably vanish all the aristocratic and capitalistic institutions upon which the so-called social fabric was resting.

Unlawfully deprived by the government of their right to organize politically and economically on Socialistic principles, forbidden to hold their national congress, which was to take place at Milan on the 10th of May, 1880, and otherwise hindered or persecuted in many ways, the Italian Socialists temporarily adopted another line of tactics. They had already initiated a movement for universal suffrage. This they determined to make for a time their only apparent or declared object and to agitate for it with their utmost vigor. If, with the aid of many disfranchised people who did not yet share their economic views—such as small middle class men, humble professionals, poor peasants, etc.—they could compel the government to grant this demand, even with certain restrictions, not only their importance as a political factor outside of Parliament would be established, but they might have some chances of electing a few Socialists to the House of Representatives, who by their speeches and attitude in that body would most effectively carry on the very agitation which they were forbidden to attempt as an organized party. Their efforts in this direction were crowned with success. Twelve hundred societies, representing the various shades of opposition to the monarchy, sent delegates to a national congress, that was held at Rome in February, 1881, under the honorary presidency of Garibaldi. At this congress a resolution was enthusiastically adopted, demanding "universal suffrage as a fundamental right of the people, which, first of all, must be asserted and enforced, in order that Italy may enter a new phase of national life, that will begin with the proclamation of the republic."

The movement now assumed formidable proportions, and the government thought it best to yield while it could still exact better terms of capitulation than it might have been able to obtain later on. A franchise bill was passed in 1882, full of restrictions, but largely extending the suffrage. The Italian Socialist party then firmly stood up, took the field in its own name, sent out its agitators, consolidated and federated into provincial districts, the sections which had hitherto maintained a separate and precarious existence, organized new ones, held public meetings under its own auspices, distributed pamphlets, issued newspapers, and generally developed a fertility of resources and a quickness of motion not less puzzling than distasteful to its surprised enemies. Time, however, and especially financial means, were wanting to sufficiently organize before election day in 1882 more than thirteen electoral districts for the practical purpose of immediate political action. In those thirteen districts straight-out Socialist candidates were nominated. Two were elected. Of these two one was Andrea Costa, who in earlier days was a leading Anarchist, but had since then embraced Socialism with the fervor of an apostle and given ample proofs of his honest conversion; his ability was uncontested.

The task of the two Socialist deputies was plain enough, although difficult and exhausting to an extreme degree in a Parliament thoroughly controlled by capitalistic interests and overwhelmingly composed of unscrupulous politicians, equally lost to every sense of shame or honor. They had been instructed by their constituents to take the oath of office as a mere formality; to expound Socialism from the tribune of Parliament on every possible occasion; to criticize from the Socialistic standpoint all the important propositions that might come up for discussion, and especially those which, purporting to be in the interest of the laboring class, were merely intended as fraudulent baits to baffle, sidetrack and capture the wage-working voters, "for no honest social reform can be expected from a government bound to maintain at all hazards the present dishonest system"; in brief, to preserve in all their acts and utterances the uncompromising attitude and unalterable hostility of the class-conscious proletariat towards its oppressors.

Incensed at the progress of the Socialists and realizing that their leadership in the labor movement of Italy—or rather, their hope of leadership, for there never was *labor* movement in the true sense of the term so long as they were at the front—was fast passing away, the Anarchists felt the necessity of immediately contriving some scheme of disorganization. Their chief spirits, Malatesta and Caffero, were hastily recalled from London. They had been there for some time engaged with some others in secret work of the usual Bakuninist sort, having especially in view to hold together the shattered remnants of their Anarchistic International; for it was already possible to foresee that in a few years the labor movement, reorganized in various countries upon a more solid basis than at any previous time, would naturally reassume its international character; and it was of vital importance to the Anarchists, at this critical time, not only to check the advance of Socialism as a political power to which the masses would necessarily look more and more for immediate improvement and final deliverance, but to secure in the corporative (or trade union) bodies, indebted for existence to Socialist energy, a position and influence that would enable them to appear as the bona fide representatives of a great economic force at any international congress that the Socialists themselves might later on deem it timely to call. For these very reasons Italy now claimed their special attention and peculiar talents.

Immediately upon his return, Malatesta began a campaign of vilification and abuse against the Socialists, and more particularly against Costa, who, he said, by entering Parliament had made the labor party a "legitimate" one, and had thus "betrayed it to the bourgeoisie." Conveniently ignoring, or dismissing as of no value, the above mentioned instructions of the party to its deputies, he now advocated the theory of trade-unionism pure and simple, incessant war to the knife in the economic field, and absolute abstention from participation in electoral campaigns, on the ground that they were "necessarily corruptive." The violence of his language—not of course in so far as it related to the Socialists, for the government was only too glad to thus see them assailed at labor meetings, but in regard to the ruling classes and the government itself—soon caused his arrest, followed by police searches in various cities and the discovery of several secret Anarchistic groups, recently formed to carry out the London programme. Malatesta was therupon tried by a Roman tribunal and sentenced to several years of imprisonment.

Yet, none were more sorry for his mishap than the Socialists themselves, who claimed for everybody the absolute right of free speech. In their extreme respect for this right they allowed such as Malatesta to take the floor in their sections, to become members and officers of their economic organizations, and generally to "participate" with them in the work of awakening the proletariat, relying entirely upon the teachings of events and the correctness of their own position to win over to their views—as in the case, for instance, of Andrea Costa—men who might be mistaken in certain fundamentals of doctrine and tactics, but were earnest enough to incur any risk in the advocacy of liberty. True, their own cause had seriously suffered from their loose connection and constant disputes with the Anarchists. On repeated occasions they had found it necessary to draw a sharp line of separation. But the tendency always was to relax into leniency, especially in times of persecution. The opposition of the more experienced to further intercourse with a body of men that they had good cause to consider as implacable enemies, ambitious schemers for the most part, and the greatest obstacle to comprehensive massing and moving of the labor forces, was but feebly sustained by the general membership. This was largely composed of new recruits, who were not yet educated to the point of clearly discerning the radical difference between "Anarchistic Communism," so-called, and true Collectivism, or Socialism. Some of them were even apt to be misled by the Anarchists into the belief that the opposition of the Socialist "leaders" was induced by personal considerations and ambitious designs. Such a state of affairs was eminently calculated to perpetuate the popular notion, industriously cultivated by the capitalist press and politicians, that Socialism and Anarchism were synonymous terms. As already stated, the government, in so far as its higher officials were concerned, knew exactly the breadth of the chasm that separated the two movements and the wide divergence of the lines along which they were respectively running. But since it had felt the power of the Socialists in the political field, it was the more anxious to identify them with the Anarchists in every public disturbance or riotous proceeding instigated by the latter, and to thus improve every opportunity of again using its police and judiciary to harass, defame and persecute them. On the other hand, the Anarchists availed themselves of every persecution to deride the Socialist tactics of independent political action at the ballot box and to preach revolution by the force of arms.

It would be tedious and profitless to follow in its turbulent operation the destructive policy of the Anarchists from 1884 to 1890. We must also leave to some other historian the sad and thankless task of recording the petty quarrels of puny leaders in small and impotent labor organizations, and the consequent aimlessness of the labor movement during that period. All this and more we can readily imagine from our similar experience in the United States on a far larger scale. Unwillingly dragged into conflicts productive of nothing but intense suffering among the workers, the Socialists never lost hope; they kept in close contact with their fellow sufferers, educating them and confidently looking to the day when under the irresistible pressure of International Socialism order would spring from chaos in the ranks of the Italian proletariat.

To them it was obvious that this day could not be far distant. And it was, indeed, surely coming. The great victory of the German Social-Democrats in 1884 had been followed in 1885 by a suggestive awakening in France and Belgium. Austria was also moving. Then came the international congresses of Paris in 1889, resulting in the institution of May Day. This was turned by the Italian Socialists into powerful means of propaganda. Under their lead the corporative (or trade union) movement developed more comprehensively and freed itself to a great extent from Anarchistic influences and notions. Finally, in 1891, the international congress of Brussels, by emphatically repudiating the Anarchists and even sternly refusing seats to those among them who claimed that they held credentials from bona fide "corporative groups," gave

the Italian Socialists the endorsement, prestige and power which they had so long needed to overcome the paralyzing effects of Anarchistic opposition. In that same year they held at Milan a national congress of the labor bodies, which recognized the equal necessity of economic and political action and the "Italian Workingmen's party" was founded on the double basis of trade unionism and political organization, "with a view to the conquest of the public powers by a simultaneous movement of the labor forces along the two natural lines of the class struggle." The work thus auspiciously begun at Milan was perfected at Genoa in 1892, and the young party, full of hope and vigor, resolutely entered the electoral campaign of that year, casting 27,000 votes for the few candidates it had been able to place in the field and electing five representatives to Parliament.

From this moment the progress of the party was so rapid that at the Congress of Reggio-Emili in September, 1893, nearly 300 labor federations and local unions were represented. No one, but the best informed within the party itself, expected such a display of strength. The surprise it caused among the ruling classes could not well be disguised in the respectful comments of the government and capitalist organs upon the dignity of the Congress and the practical character of its proceedings. On the other hand, its moral effect upon the delegates was in nothing more apparent than in the enthusiasm with which they swept away all verbal vestiges of previous timidity, by adding the word "Socialist" to the name of the party, which thenceforth was to be known as the "Italian Socialist Labor party." They had no cause to regret their boldness; for on the day of adjournment, ten thousand peasants rushed from all parts of the Emilian province to the town, assembled on the great public square, greeted the Socialist speakers with the most emphatic demonstrations of approval, fraternized with the delegates and returned to their homes determined to stand at all times under the banner of Socialism. And theirs was not an idle promise, forgotten as soon as given; through good and bad report those poor peasants of Emilia have ever since remained faithful; it is by the Socialist Prampolini that they are represented in Parliament.

Nor was this movement of the peasants confined to one province. It soon extended to many parts of the Italian peninsula and spread like wild fire—too much, indeed, like wild fire—in the island of Sicily.

From time immemorial Sicily has been a standard land of misery and martyrdom for the rural proletariat. In this respect it casts Ireland far into the shade. Its very fertility, unsurpassed anywhere, has always proved its curse. To this day the ancient Roman "latifundium" (or private estate of colossal dimensions) is the basis of its economic system. Upon the old trunk, however, now grafted the Manchesterian capitalistic device of "free labor," but without its American bonanza farm adjunct of highly improved machinery and consequent free trampism. The fruit of this anachronistic growth has been a monstrous form of human slavery, which yields princely incomes to land grabbers, handsome pickings to usurers, and large revenues to the government. From a soil so rich that the least labor is required by nature with regal subsistence, armies of small tenants, chained by contract, working their every muscle and their very soul into vapor, eke out for themselves famine and squalor. Over and above the crust of bread upon which these human beasts of draft and burden are allowed to feed, what is not appropriated by the idle land-owner is promptly carried away by the busiest vermin of the whole island, namely, the tax-collector.

Sicily is also—as such a hell should be—the land of earthquakes and brimstone. Under its surface, plunged in physical and intellectual darkness, thousands of parlors of both sexes and all ages are digging out sulphur for the enrichment of British capitalists. A number of them, by the way, are of Cornish descent, their fathers having been sent from civilized England to teach the ignorant Sicilian laborers—and incidentally their own Sicilianized children—the art of turning Inferno itself into surplus value by the process of starvation. It was among these poor people, in this lowest substratum of proletarian misery, that the "Fasci Opera" (labor unions) first undertook to organize resistance. The Fasci established at Palermo a central committee for the island of Sicily. Under the auspices and management of this active body a congress of the sulphur miners was held at Grotte, which resulted, in a public exposure of their scandalous treatment, and in the adoption of a programme of action looking to the immediate improvement of their condition. A small increase of their wages followed, and some of the most revolting abuses to which they had so long been compelled to submit were at last abolished.

The Central Committee then turned its attention to the peasants. A congress of their class was held at Corleone, and a strong organization was effected, through which their general demand for a modification of the barbarous contracts imposed upon tenants by landowners was successfully enforced.

There were, however, many other grievances, individual and collective, which could not be redressed or suppressed but by a radical change of system. Some of these, especially, were in their nature and in the petty conflicts which they frequently provoked, such as to give the Socialists much anxiety. Evidently, the disinherited peasants, who could not yet grasp the fundamental truths of Socialism, were apt to be sidetracked at any time, by their intense desire for immediate betterment, into some agrarian movement of a middle class tendency and anarchistic character.

The Italian government itself—unwittingly but none the less effectively—had on a previous occasion supplied all the elements by the natural action of which such a movement would some day be rendered inevitable unless the Socialists could get in time sufficient influence to properly direct the mounting wave of public indignation. Aware of the deep discontent that pervaded the Sicilian peasantry, and deriving but little income from the Crown's domains, the royal authorities had hit upon a plan calculated, in their opinion, to win back the affections of the landless by a public distribution of the demesne lands, while at the same time increasing by adequate taxation the royal revenues. As might have been expected the proletarian riffraff was little benefited by this right royaly fraudulent generosity. The great landowners and the usurers managed in the end to elbow out the poor claimants, who, when they became uncomfortably pressing, or perchance disrespectfully boisterous, were given free board at their fellows' expense in a royal prison.

As the increased and constantly increasing amount of taxation was shifted by the land owners from their own shoulders upon the shoulders of their tenants, the latter became more and more desperate; not so much against the system, which the Socialists were now endeavoring to make them understand, as against the tax collector, who, clad in royal authority, had every possible means of making himself understood. Hence, here and there, vain resistance on one side and display of overwhelming force on the other. Every such conflict between a peasant and a fiscal agent was, of course, officially magnified into a riot and perversely heralded as an evidence of widespread rebellion, "fomented by the Fasci." In fact, the fomenters—in so far as there were any, and as was conclusively proved later on by the radical-socialist deputy Colajanni—were the high officers of the fisc and the great landowners themselves, who longed for an opportunity of terrorizing the claimants and all other dissatisfied persons into silence and submission; whereas the Fasci, for the obvious reasons already stated, not only disconcerted any private act, but firmly opposed any public manifestation calculated to provoke disorder; their aim being to organize the whole rural, urban and mining proletariat into a compact, clear-minded, self-controlled body, which in the consciousness of its political strength could not be driven into a wasting of its forces by premature revolt.

The policy of the ruling classes was therefore twofold. For the accomplishment of their object the peasantry had first to be cured of its grievances by such summary treatment as the military alone could effectively apply, and the Socialist Labor Party was to be so crippled that it could not continue its legal, peaceful, but most dreaded work of organization.

The men then in power did not, however, possess the amount of reckless impudence and murderous energy required to carry out such a programme. They were weak politicians, selected for their comparative "honesty" at a time when Colajanni, by laying bare at the tribune of Parliament the Banca Romana scandal (paralleled only by the French Panama and the American Pacific Railways in the history of political corruption) had shaken the government to its foundations. The old danger line had safely been passed. Another danger, far more serious, was now threatening. Men of negative qualities were here out of place. A true capitalistic leader, a man of positive vices and inborn viciousness, was now needed. Such a man was Crispin.

That this man had already, some years before, been hurled from power by the scandal of "his triple bigamy"; that "he was, by temperament, a chief of bandits, a lustful scamp, and as much of a liar as any ten prostitutes could be"; that he might "unscrupulously do anything, even good, in the attainment of his object"; that money was his faith and corruption his element; all this and more that was well known of him commanded him highly for the unique work of saving a class which he more completely portrayed in his own person and in its worst features than any other Italian "statesman" of his day.

It was at the end of 1893 that Crispin took the reins of government. The Parliament was not in session. The state of siege was immediately proclaimed in Sicily; also in the Carrara district of the province of Tuscany, where the marble quarrymen, tired of starvation wages, had been parading through their own dilapidated villages with a flag upon which was embroidered the upper shoot of a Carrara pine; innocent emblem, probably, of the readiness with which they, strong men, had until then bent to the will of their masters.

Those of us in America who at that time learned from the capitalist press that there was a terrible rebellion raging in Sicily, instigated and engineered by Socialists, will now be surprised at the following statement. On the capitalist side two men fell; one of them a soldier, who was threatening death to everybody; the other an official, prator of Gibellina, esteemed by the people and shot by mistake while attempting to restrain the soldiers. On the proletarian side, ninety-two unarmed citizens were killed, and a large but unknown number of others were more or less severely wounded. The "bands of rebels," so-called, were nonoffensive processions of men and women, carrying the portraits of the King and the Queen between Italian flags. They were fired upon as soon as they made their appearance.

The Fasci were dissolved by the authorities and their officers were thrown into prison. One thousand persons, men and women, charged with or simply suspected of participating in proceedings which had been legally and openly held before the state of siege, were arrested by the police, and tried by court martial. Ten, twelve, twenty years' sentences fell as thick and quick from the dry lips of martial presidents as hailstones in an April shower. "The military tribunals of Sicily alone," writes Colajanni, "dispensed about 5,000 years of imprisonment to peasants who protested against famine in the midst of the superabundance which they had produced, and to young men guilty of a generous Socialist propaganda."

For all these atrocities Crispin asked Parliament, on the reopening of the Chambers, for a bill of indemnity; in support of which he read forged documents, such as incendiary appeals to rebellion, and anonymous communiques to the police, which refused to make their authors known on the plea of professional secrecy. Interpellated by Prampolini, the "great minister" declared himself responsible for the genuineness of all those documents. They were signed, "very much signed"; and he had "something better in his portfolio, which he would not read out of compassion for the prisoners." The value of all this evidence may be inferred from the famous "Treaty of Bisacquino," so named from the town where resided the police agent that supplied his em-

ployers with this remarkable product of modern invention. By this "treaty" it was undertaken to show that the members of the central committee of the Fasci, in league with certain eminent Sicilians (including the deputy Colajanni) had entered into a compact with France and England to dismember Italy by separating Sicily from her and delivering an Italian port to Russia! O patriotism! What traitors those Socialists be!

And now came the Anarchists. They always come at the right moment; when a government is sorely in need of a "propaganda of the deed" to prop up its shaky structure of despotism. Explosions in Spain and Paris! The poniard of Casero—an Italian, mark well! Europe is in a tremor. Italy—Crispi must have "laws of exception."

These laws, nominally made against the Anarchists, who, in Crisp's own words, "have no party," are, of course, mercilessly applied to the Socialists, who have a party. And that the Socialists may the more surely, the more legally, fall under the operation of the law, their party is dissolved by a stroke of Crisp's pen.

On the 22d of October, 1894, every known Socialist receives the visit of a police agent; his house is searched, his papers are taken, his person is jailed. Not one militant escapes, even among the most obscure.

(To be Continued.)

## PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandlow, 119 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meeting of December 28th, with Comrade Seubert in the chair. Absent were Bennett and Stahl, the latter excused. The financial report for the week showed receipts to the amount of \$60, expenditures, \$155.68; deficit, \$95.58.

The secretary was instructed to communicate with the Rhode Island State Committee, with a view to obtain further information about an attempt to disfranchise the workers of that State by the recommendation to the Legislature on the part of a commission to revise the constitution, making the right to vote dependent upon a property qualification. The State Committee is to be offered the aid of the National Executive Committee in inaugurating an agitation against the scheme.

Comrade Koinard sends several reports as to his agitation. He has reorganized Section Canton, Maryland, and since that State has now the required number of Sections, it was resolved to issue a call to make nominations for the seat of the State Committee.

Section Chicago reports the expulsion of Fred. Wittemeyer, for having joined the S. D. Section Bevier, Mo., inquires about the charter. The Section was informed that when the attempt to procure a suitable design through a competition had failed, the Committee on Charter and Awards, after making another fruitless attempt in New York City, wrote to Walter Crane, of London, England, who agreed to make the design for the amount of the price offered. He was to begin the work upon his return to London, and expected to be done with it the latter part of November. The Committee on Charter and Awards, when written to about the matter, replied that they had again written to London and were in daily expectation of an answer. Sections that hold certificate of charter will please take notice and rest assured that as soon as the design arrives, the Executive Committee will lose no time in getting out the charter.

Section Lewiston, Maine, reports its nomination for the seat of the State Committee.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Secy.

## General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged..... \$331.00

J. H. Harkow, Brooklyn, N. Y. .... 50

Total ..... \$331.50

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

## Comrade Harry Carless' Tour in Massachusetts.

From January 13th to February 1st.

The following dates are still open, and may be had by Sections: January 13th, 14th, 15th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st and February 1st. The Sections are to pay railroad fare and hotel expenses, while the National Executive Committee pays the speaker's salary. To make possible subsequent arrangements for other States, Sections are urgently requested to report as to whether they want a meeting or not, and do so without delay. All such reports to be

